THE America Not

GRIEVANCES

OF THE

American Colonies

CANDIDLY EXAMINED.

'Midſt the low murmurs of ſubmiſſive Fear,
And mingled Rage, my HAMPDEN rais'd his voice,
And to the LAWS appeal'd.

THOMSON.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM

EARL OF DARTMOUTH,

FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER

OF THE

BOARD OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS;

THIS TRACT, LATELY PRINTED BY AUTHORITY IN RHODE-ISLAND,

IS

MOST DUTIFULLY,

AND

MOST RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

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GRIEVANCES &c.

LIBERTY is the greateſt bleſſing that men enjoy, and ſlavery the greateſt curſe that human nature is capable of.—Hence it is a matter of the utmoſt importance to men, which of the two ſhall be their Portion. Abſolute liberty, is perhaps incompatible with any kind of government.—The ſafety reſulting from ſociety, and the advantage of juſt and equal laws, hath cauſed men to forego ſome part of their natural liberty, and ſubmit to government. This appears to be the moſt rational account of its beginning; although it muſt be confeſſed, mankind have by no means been agreed about it: ſome have found its origin in the divine appointment;

others have thought it took its riſe from power: enthuſiaſts have dreamed that dominion was founded in grace. Leaving theſe points to be ſettled by the deſcendants of Filmer, Cromwell, and Venner, we ſhall conſider the Britiſh conſtitution, as it at preſent ſtands, on Revolution Principles; and from thence endeavour to find the meaſure of the magiſtrate's power, and the people's obedience.

This glorious conſtitution, the beſt that ever exiſted amongſt men, will be confeſſed by all, to be founded on compact, and eſtabliſhed by conſent of the people. By this moſt beneficent compact, Britiſh ſubjects are to be governed only agreeable to laws, to which themſelves have ſome way conſented, and are not to be compelled to part with their property, but as it is called for by the authority of ſuch laws: the former is truly liberty; the latter is to be really poſſeſſed of property, and to have ſomething that may be called one's own.

On the contrary, thoſe who are governed at the will of another, or others, and whoſe Property may be taken from them by taxes, or otherwiſe, without their own conſent, and againſt their will, are in the miſerable condition of ſlaves: "For, (ſays Algernon Sidney, in his diſcourſes on government) liberty ſolely conſiſts in an independency upon the will of another; and by the name of ſlave, we underſtand a man who can neither diſpoſe of his perſon or goods, but enjoys all at the will of his maſter." Theſe things premiſed; whether the Britiſh American colonies on the continent, are juſtly entitled to like privileges and freedoms as their fellow ſubjects in Great Britain are, is a point worthy mature examination. In diſcuſſing this queſtion, we ſhall make the colonies in New England, with whoſe rights we are beſt acquainted, the rule of our reaſoning; not in the leaſt doubting but all the others are juſtly entitled to like rights with them.

New

New England was firſt planted by adventurers, who left England, their native Country, by permiſſion of king Charles the firſt; and at their own expence, tranſported themſelves to America, with great riſque and difficulty ſettled among ſavages, and in a very ſurprizing manner, formed new colonies in the wilderneſs. Before their departure, the terms of their freedom, and the relation they ſhould ſtand in to the mother country, in their emigrant ſtate were fully ſettled; they were to remain ſubject to the king, and dependant on the kingdom of Great Britain. In return they were to receive protection, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of freeborn Engliſhmen.

This is abundantly proved by the charter given to the Maſſachuſets colony, while they were ſtill in England, and which they received and brought over with them, as the authentic evidence of the conditions they removed upon. The colonies of Connecticut and

and Rhode Iſland alſo, afterwards obtained charters from the crown, granting them the like ample Privileges. By all theſe charters, it is in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner granted, that theſe adventurers, and their children after them for ever, ſhould have and enjoy all the freedom and liberty that the ſubjects in England enjoy: That they might make laws for their own government, ſuitable to their circumſtances; not repugnant to, but as near as might be, agreeable to the laws of England: that they might purchaſe lands, acquire goods, and uſe trade for their advantage, and have an abſolute property in whatever they juſtly acquired. Theſe, with many other gracious privileges, were granted them by ſeveral Kings; and they were to pay as an acknowledgement to the crown, only one fifth part of the ore of gold and ſilver, that ſhould at any time be found in the ſaid colonies, in lieu of, and full ſatisfaction for all dues and demands

mands of the crown and kingdom of England upon them.

There is not any thing new or extraordinary in theſe rights granted to the Britiſh colonies :—The colonies from all countries, at all times, have enjoyed equal freedom with the mother ſtate. Indeed, there would be found very few people in the world, willing to leave their native country, and go through the fatigue and hardſhip of planting in a new uncultivated one, for the ſake of loſing their freedom. They who ſettle new countries muſt be poor ; and in courſe, ought to be free. Advantages, pecuniary or agreeable, are not on the Side of emigrants, and ſurely they muſt have ſomething in their ſtead.

To illuſtrate this, permit us to examine what hath generally been the condition of the colonies with reſpect to their freedom; we will begin with thoſe who went out from the ancient commonwealths of Greece, which are the firſt perhaps, we have any

good

good account of. Thucidides, that grave and judicious hiſtorian, ſays of one of them, "they were not ſent "out to be ſlaves but to be the equals "of thoſe who remained behind;" and again, the Corinthians gave public notice, "that a new colony was "going to Epidamus, into which, all "that would enter, ſhould have "equal and like privileges with thoſe "who ſtaid at home."

This was uniformly the condition of all the Grecian colonies; they went out and ſettled new countries; they took ſuch forms of government as themſelves choſe, though it generally nearly reſembled that of the mother ſtate, whether democratical or oligarchical. 'Tis true they were fond to acknowledge their original, and always oonfeſſed themſelves under obligation to pay a kind of honorary reſpect to, and ſhew a filial dependance on the commonwealth from whence they ſprung. Thucidides again tells us, that the Corinthians complained

complained of the Coreyreans " from
" whom, though a colony of their own
" they had received ſome contemp-
" tuous treatment: for they neither
" payed them the uſual honour on
" their public ſolemnities, nor began
" with a Corinthian in the diſtribu-
" tion of the ſacrifices which is al-
" ways done by other colonies."
From hence it is plain what kind of dependance the Greek colonies were under, and what ſort of acknowledgement they owed to the mother ſtate.

If we paſs from the Grecian to the American colonies, we ſhall find them not leſs free; but this difference may be obſerved between them, that the Roman colonies did not, like the Grecian, become ſeparate ſtates, governed by different laws, but always remained a part of the mother ſtate; and all that were free of the colonies, were alſo free of Rome. And Grotius gives us the opinion of a Roman king, concerning the freedom of Colonies: king Tullus ſays,

" for

"for our part, we look upon it to "be neither truth nor juſtice, that "mother cities ought of neceſſity, "and by the law of nature, to rule "over their colonies."

When we come down to the latter ages of the world, and conſider the colonies planted in the three laſt centuries, in America, from ſeveral kingdoms in Europe, we ſhall find them, ſays Puffendorf, very different from the antient colonies, and he gives us an inſtance in thoſe of the Spaniards. Although it be confeſſed theſe fall greatly ſhort of enjoying equal freedom with the ancient Greek and Roman ones; yet it will be truly ſaid, they enjoy equal freedom with their countrymen in Spain: but as they are all under the government of an abſolute monarch, they have no reaſon to complain that one enjoys the liberty the other is deprived of. The French colonies will be found nearly in the ſame condition, and for the ſame reaſon, becauſe their fellow-ſub-

jects of France have alſo loſt their liberty. And the queſtion is not whether all colonies, as compared with one another, enjoy equal liberty, but whether all enjoy as much freedom as the inhabitants of the mother ſtate; and this will hardly be denied in the caſe of the Spaniſh, French, or other modern foreign colonies.

By this it fully appears, that colonies in general, both ancient and modern, have always enjoyed as much freedom as the mother ſtate from which they went out: and will any one ſuppoſe the Britiſh colonies in America are an exception to this general rule? Colonies that came from a kingdom renowned for liberty; from a conſtitution founded on compact, from a people of all the ſons of men, the moſt tenacious of freedom; who left the delights of their native country, parted from their homes, and all their conveniencies, ſearched out and ſubdued a foreign country with the moſt amazing travail and fortitude, to the infinite advantage and

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emolument of the mother ſtate; that removed on a firm reliance of a ſolemn compact, and royal promiſe and grant, that they, and their ſucceſſors for ever, ſhould be free, ſhould be partakers and ſharers in all the privileges and advantages of the then Engliſh, now Engliſh conſtitution.

If it were poſſible a doubt could yet remain, in the moſt unbelieving mind, that theſe Britiſh colonies are not every way juſtly and fully intituled to equal liberty and freedom with their fellow-ſubjects in Europe, we might ſhew, that the parliament of Great-Britain have always underſtood their rights in the ſame light.

By an act paſſed in the thirteenth year of the reign of his late majeſty King George the Second, intituled, "An act for naturalizing foreign proteſtants, &c." and by another act, paſſed in the ſame reign, for nearly the ſame purpoſes, by both which it is enacted and ordained, "That all

" foreign proteſtants, who had in-
" habited, and reſided for the ſpace
" of ſeven years, or more, in His
" Majeſty's colonies in America,"
might, on the conditions therein
mentioned, be naturalized, and there-
upon ſhould be " deemed, adjudged,
" and taken to be His Majeſty's na-
" tural born ſubjects of the kingdom
" of Great-Britain, to all intents,
" conſtructions, and purpoſes, as if
" they, and every one of them, had
" been, or were born within the
" ſame." No reaſonable man will
here ſuppoſe the parliament intended,
in theſe acts, to put foreigners who
had been in the colonies only ſeven
years, in a better condition than thoſe
who had been born in them, or had
removed from Britain thither, but on-
ly to put theſe foreigners on an equa-
lity with them; and, to do this, they
are obliged to give them all the rights
of natural-born ſubjects of Great Bri-
tain,

From what has been ſhewn, it will appear beyond a doubt, that the Britiſh ſubjects in America, have equal rights with thoſe in Britain; that they do not hold thoſe rights as privileges granted them, but poſſeſs them as inherent and indefeaſible.

And the Britiſh legiſlative and executive powers have conſidered the colonies as poſſeſſed of theſe rights, and have always heretofore, in the moſt tender and parental manner, treated them as their dependant (though free) condition required. The protection promiſed on the part of the crown, which with chearfulneſs and gratitude we acknowledge, hath at all times been given to the colonies. The dependance of the colonies to Great-Britain hath been fully teſtified by a conſtant and ready obedience to all the commands of His preſent Majeſty, and royal predeceſſors; both men and money having been raiſed in them at all times when called for, with as much alacrity and in as large

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proportions as hath been done in Great Britain, the ability of each conſidered. It muſt alſo be confeſſed with thankfulneſs, that the firſt adventurers and their ſucceſſors, for one hundred and thirty years, have fully enjoyed all the freedoms and immunities promiſed on their removal from England—But here the ſcene ſeems to be unhappily changing:—The Britiſh miniſtry, whether induced by a jealouſy of the colonies, by falſe informations, or by ſome alteration in the ſyſtem of political government, we have no information; whatever hath been the motive, this we are ſure of, the parliament paſſed an act, limitting reſtricting, and burdening the trade of thoſe colonies, much more than had ever been done before; as alſo for greatly enlarging the power and juriſdiction of the Courts of admiralty in the colonies, and likewiſe paſſed another act, eſtabliſhing certain ſtamp duties. Theſe acts have occaſioned great uneaſineſs among

among the Britiſh ſubjects on the continent of America. How much reaſon there is for it, we will endeavour, in the moſt modeſt and plain manner we can, to lay before the public.

In the firſt place, let it be conſidered, that although each of the colonies hath a legiſlature within itſelf, to take care of its Intereſts, and provide for its peace and internal government, yet there are many things of a more general nature, quite out of the reach of theſe particular legiſlatures, which it is neceſſary ſhould be regulated, ordered and governed. One of this kind is, the commerce of the whole Britiſh empire, taken collectively, and that of each kingdom and colony in it, as it makes a part of that whole: Indeed, every thing that concerns the proper intereſt and fit government of the whole commonwealth, of keeping the peace, and ſubordination of all the parts towards the whole, and one among another, muſt be conſidered in this light:

amongſt

amongſt theſe general concerns, perhaps money and paper credit, thoſe grand inſtruments of all commerce, will be found alſo to have a place. Theſe, with all other matters of a general nature, it is abſolutely neceſſary ſhould have a general power to direct them; ſome ſupreme and overruling authority, with power to make laws, and form regulations for the good of all, and to compel their execution and obſervation. It being neceſſary ſome ſuch general power ſhould exiſt ſomewhere, every man of the leaſt knowledge of the Britiſh conſtitution, will be naturally led to look for, and find it in the parliament of Great Britain; that grand and auguſt legiſlative body muſt from the nature of their authority, and the neceſſity of the thing, be juſtly veſted with this power. Hence it becomes the indiſpenſable duty of every good and loyal ſubject, chearfully to obey and patiently ſubmit to all the acts, laws, orders and regulations

tions that may be made and paſſed by parliament, for directing and governing all theſe general matters.

Here it may be urged by many, and indeed, with great appearance of reaſon, that the equity, juſtice and beneficence, of the Britiſh conſtitution, will require, that the ſeparate kingdoms and diſtinct colonies, who are to obey and be governed by theſe general laws and regulations, ought to be repreſented, ſome way or other, in parliament; at leaſt whilſt theſe general matters are under conſideration. Whether the colonies will ever be admitted to have repreſentatives in parliament—whether it be conſiſtent with their diſtant and dependant ſtate—and whether, if it were admitted, it would be to their advantage—are queſtions we will paſs by; and obſerve, that theſe colonies ought in juſtice, and for the very evident good of the whole commonwealth, to have notice of every new meaſure about to be purſued, and

new Act about to be paſſed, by which their rights, liberties or intereſts may be affected; they ought to have ſuch notice, that they may appear and be heard by their agents, by council, or written repreſentation, or by ſome other equitable and effectual way.

The colonies are at ſo great a diſtance from England, that the members of parliament can, generally have but little knowledge of their buſineſs, connections and intereſts, but what is gained from people who have been there; the moſt of theſe, have ſo ſlight a knowledge themſelves, that the informations they can give, are very little to be depended on, though they may pretend to determine with confidence on matters far above their reach. All ſuch informations are too uncertain to be depended on, in the tranſacting buſineſs of ſo much conſequence, and in which the intereſts of

two

two millions of free people are ſo deeply concerned. There is no kind of inconvenience or miſchief can ariſe from the colonies having ſuch notice, and being heard in the manner above-mentioned; but, on the contrary, very great miſchiefs have already happened to the colonies, and always muſt be expected, if they are not heard, before things of ſuch importance are determined concerning them.

Had the colonies been fully heard, before the late act had been paſſed, no reaſonable man can ſuppoſe it ever would have paſſed at all, in the manner it now ſtands? for what good reaſon can poſſibly be given for making a law to cramp the trade and ruin the intereſt of many of the colonies, and at the ſame time, leſſen in a prodigious manner the conſumption of the Britiſh manufactures in them? Theſe are certainly the effects this act muſt produce: a duty of three-pence *per* gallon on foreign melaſſes, is well

known to every man in the leaſt acquainted with it, to be much higher than that article can poſſibly bear; and therefore muſt operate as an abſolute prohibition. This will put a total ſtop to the exportation of lumber, horſes, flour, and fiſh, to the French and Dutch ſugar-colonies; and if any one ſuppoſe we may find a ſufficient vent for theſe articles in the Engliſh Weſt-Indies, he only verifies what was juſt now obſerved, that he wants true information. Putting an end to the importation of foreign melaſſes, at the ſame time puts an end to all the coſtly diſtilleries in theſe colonies, and to the rum trade with the coaſt of Africa, and throws it into the Hands of the French. With the loſs of the foreign melaſſes trade, the cod-fiſhery in America muſt alſo be loſt, and thrown alſo into the hands of the French. That this is the real ſtate of the whole buſineſs is not mere fancy; neither this, nor any part of

it, is exaggeration, but a ſober and moſt melancholy truth.

View this duty of three-pence *per* gallon on foreign melaſſes, not in the light of a prohibition, but ſuppoſing the trade to continue, and the duty to be paid. Heretofore there hath been imported into the colony of Rhode-Iſland only, about one million one hundred and fifty thouſand gallons, annually; the duty on this quantity is fourteen thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds ſterling, to be paid yearly by this little colony; a larger ſum than was ever in it at any one time. This money is to be ſent away, and never to return; yet the payment is to be repeated every year. —Can this poſſibly be done? Can a new colony, compelled by neceſſity to purchaſe all its cloathing, furniture, and utenſils from England, to ſupport the expences of its own internal government, obliged by its duty to comply with every call from the crown to raiſe money on emergencies; after all this,

this, can every man in it pay twenty-four ſhillings a year for the duties of a ſingle article only; There is ſurely no man in his right mind believes this poſſible. The charging foreign melaſſes with this high duty, will not affect all the colonies equally, nor any other near ſo much as this of Rhode-Iſland, whoſe trade depended much more on foreign melaſſes, and on diſtilleries, than that of any others; this muſt ſhew that raiſing money for the general ſervice of the crown, or colonies, by ſuch a duty, will be extremely unequal, and therefore unjuſt. And now taking either alternative; by ſuppoſing, on one hand, the foreign melaſſes trade is ſtopped, and with it the opportunity or ability of the colonies to get money; or, on the other, that this trade is continued, and that the colonies get money by it, but all their money is taken from them by paying their duty; can Britain be a gainer by either? Is it not the chief intereſt of Britain to diſpoſe

of,

of, and be paid for her own manufactures? and doth ſhe not find the greateſt and beſt market for them in her own colonies? Will ſhe find an advantage in diſabling the colonies to continue their trade with her? or can ſhe poſſibly grow rich by their being made poor?

Miniſters have great influence, and parliaments have great power;—can either of them change the nature of things, ſtop our means of getting money, and yet expect us to purchaſe and pay for Britiſh manufactures? The genius of the people in theſe colonies is as little turned to manufacturing goods for their own uſe, as is poſſible to ſuppoſe in any people whatſoever; yet neceſſity will compel them either to go naked in this cold country, or to make themſelves ſome ſort of cloathing, if it be only of the ſkins of Beaſts.

By the ſame act of parliament, the exportation of all kinds of timber, or lumber, the moſt natural

produce

produce of theſe new colonies, is greatly incumbered and uſeleſsly embarraſſed, and the ſhipping it to any part of Europe, except Great Britain, prohibited: This muſt greatly affect the linen manufacture in Ireland, as that kingdom uſed to receive great quantities of flax-ſeed from America, many cargoes being made of that, and of barrel ſtaves, were ſent thither every year; but as the ſtaves can no longer be exported thither, the ſhips carrying only flax ſeed caſks, without the ſtaves, which uſed to be intermixed among them, muſt loſe one half of their freight, which will prevent their continuing this trade, to the great injury of Ireland, and of the plantations: And what advantage is to accrue to Great Britain by it, muſt be told by thoſe who can perceive the utility of this meaſure.

Enlarging the power and juriſdiction of the courts of vice-admiralty in the colonies, is another part of the ſame act, greatly and juſtly complained of

of. Courts of admiralty have long been eſtabliſhed in moſt of the colonies, whoſe authority were circumſcribed within moderate territorial juriſdictions; and whoſe courts have always done the Buſineſs neceſſary to be brought before thoſe courts for trial, in the manner it ought to be done, and in a way only moderately expenſive to the ſubjects; and if ſeizures were made, or informations exhibited, without reaſon, or contrary to law, the informer or ſeizer, was left to the juſtice of the common law, there to pay for his folly, or ſuffer for his temerity. But now this caſe is quite altered, and a cuſtom houſe officer may make a ſeizure in Georgia, of goods ever ſo legally imported, and carry the trial to Halifax, at fifteen hundred miles diſtance, and thither the owner muſt follow him to defend his property; and when he comes there, quite beyond the circle of his friends, acquaintance, and correſpondence, among total ſtrangers,

he muſt there give bond, and muſt find ſureties to be bound with him in a large ſum before he ſhall be admitted to claim his own goods; when this is complied with, he hath a trial, and his goods acquitted. If the judge can be prevailed on (which it is very well known may too eaſily be done) to certify, there was *only* probable cauſe for making the ſeizure, the unhappy owner can not maintain any action againſt the illegal ſeizer, for damages, or obtain any ſatisfaction; but he may return to Georgia, quite ruined, and undone in conformity to an act of parliament. Such unbounded encouragement and protection given to informers, muſt call to every one's remembrance Tacitus's account of the miſerable condition of the Romans in the reign of Tiberius their emperor, who let looſe and encouraged the informers of that age. Surely if the colonies had been fully heard before this had been done, the liberties and

properties

properties of the Americans would not have been ſo much diſregarded.

The reſolution that the houſe of commons came into during the ſame ſeſſion of parliament, aſſerting their right to eſtabliſh ſtamp duties, and internal taxes, to be collected in the colonies without their own conſent, hath much more, and for much more reaſon alarmed the Britiſh ſubjects in America, than any thing that had ever been done before. Theſe reſolutions have been ſince carried into execution by an act of parliament which the coloniſts do conceive is a violation of their long enjoyed rights. For it muſt be confeſſed by all men, that they who are taxed at Pleaſure by others, cannot poſſibly have any property, can have nothing to be called their own; they who have no property can have no freedom, but are indeed reduced to the moſt abject ſlavery; are in a ſtate far worſe than countries conquered and made tributary; for theſe have only a fixed ſum

to pay, which they are left to raiſe among themſelves, in the way that they may think moſt equal and eaſy; and having paid the ſtipulated ſum, the debt is diſcharged, and what is left is their own. This is more tolerable, than to be taxed at the mere will of others, without any bounds, without any ſtipulation or agreement, contrary to their conſent and againſt their wills. If we are told that thoſe who lay theſe taxes upon the colonies are men of the higheſt character for wiſdom juſtice and integrity, and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to deal hardly, unjuſtly or unequally by any; admitting, and really believing that all this is true, it will make no alteration in the nature of the caſe; for one who is bound to obey the will of another, is as really a ſlave, though he may have a good maſter, as if he had a bad one; and this is ſtronger in politic bodies than in natural ones, as the former have a perpetual ſucceſſion, and remain the ſame; and

although

although they may have a good maſter at one time, they may have a very bad one at another. And indeed, if the people in America, are to be taxed by the repreſentatives of the people in Britain, their malady is an increaſing evil, that muſt always grow greater by time. Whatever burdens are laid upon the Americans, will be ſo much taken off the Britons; and the doing this will ſoon be extremely popular, and thoſe who put up to be members of the houſe of commons, muſt obtain the votes of the people, by promiſing to take taxes off them, by making new levies on the Americans. This muſt moſt aſſuredly be the caſe, and it will not be in the power even of the parliament to prevent it; the people's private intereſt will be concerned, and will govern them; they will have ſuch, and only ſuch repreſentatives as will act agreeable to their intereſt; and theſe taxes, laid on Americans, will be always a part

of

of the ſupply bill, in which the other branches of the legiſlature can make no alteration: and, in truth, the ſubjects in the colonies will be taxed at the will and pleaſure of their fellow-ſubjects in Britain.——How equitable and how juſt this may be, muſt be left to every impartial man to determine.

But it will be ſaid, that the monies drawn from the colonies by duties, and by taxes, will be laid up and ſet apart to be uſed for their future defence: this will not at all alleviate the hardſhip, but ſerve only more ſtrongly to mark the ſervile ſtate of the people. Free people have ever thought, and always will think, that the money neceſſary for their defence, lies ſafeſt in their own hands, until it be wanted immediately for that purpoſe. To take the money of the Americans, which they want continually to uſe in their trade, and lay it up for their defence, at a thouſand leagues diſtant from them, when the

enemies

enemies they have to fear are in their own neighbourhood, hath not the greateſt probability of friendſhip or of prudence.

It is not the judgment of free people only, that money for defending them is ſafeſt in their keeping, but it is alſo the opinion of the beſt and wiſeſt kings and governors of mankind, in every age of the world, that the wealth of a ſtate was moſt ſecurely as well as moſt profitably depoſited in the hands of their faithful ſubjects: Conſtantius, emperor of the Romans, though an abſolute prince, both practiſed and praiſed this method. "Diocleſian ſent per-
"ſons on purpoſe to reproach him
"with his neglect of the publick,
"and the poverty to which he was
"reduced by his own fault. Con-
"ſtantius heard theſe reproaches
"with patience; and having per-
"ſuaded thoſe who made them in
"Diocleſian's name, to ſtay a few
"days with him, he ſent word to
"the

" the moſt wealthy perſons in the
" provinces, that he wanted money,
" and that they had now an oppor-
" tunity of ſhewing whether or no
" they really loved their prince. Up-
" on this notice, every one ſtrove
" who ſhould be foremoſt in carry-
" ing to the exchequer all their gold,
" ſilver, and valuable effects, ſo that
" in a ſhort time, Conſtantius from
" being the pooreſt, became by far
" the moſt wealthy of all the four
" princes. He then invited the de-
" puties of Diocleſian to viſit his
" treaſury, deſiring them to make a
" faithful report to their maſter of
" the ſtate in which they ſhould
" find it. They obeyed; and, while
" they ſtood gazing upon the migh-
" ty heaps of gold and ſilver, Con-
" ſtantius told them, that the wealth
" which they beheld with aſtoniſh-
" ment, had long ſince belonged to
" him, but that he had left it by
" way of depoſitum, in the hands
" of his people: adding, the richeſt

" and

" and ſureſt treaſure of the prince,
" was the love of his ſubjects. The
" deputies were no ſooner gone,
" than the generous prince ſent for
" thoſe who had aſſiſted him in his
" exigency, commended their zeal
" and returned to every one what
" they had ſo readily brought into
" his treaſury."

We are not inſenſible, that when liberty is in danger, the liberty of complaining is dangerous; yet a man on a wrack was never denied the liberty of roaring as loud as he could, ſays Dean Swift. And we believe no good reaſon can be given, why the colonies ſhould not modeſtly and ſoberly enquire, what right the parliament of Great Britain have to tax them. We know that ſuch enquiries have by one letter writer, been branded with the little epithet of *Muſhroom Policy*; and he intimates, that for the colonies to pretend to claim any privileges, will draw down the reſentment of the parliament on

them. Is then the defence of liberty become ſo contemptible, and pleading for juſt rights ſo dangerous? Can the guardians of liberty be thus ludicrous? Can the patrons of freedom be ſo jealous and ſo ſevere?

Should it be urged that the money expended by the mother-country, for the defence and protection of America, and eſpecially during the late war, muſt juſtly entitle her to ſome retaliation from the colonies; and that the ſtamp duties and taxes, intended to be raiſed in them, are only deſigned for that equitable purpoſe; if we are permitted to examine how far this may rightfully veſt the parliament with the power of taxing the colonies, we ſhall find this claim to have no foundation. In many of the colonies, eſpecially thoſe in New England, which were planted, as is before obſerved, not at the charge of the crown or kingdom of England, but at the expence of the planters themſelves, and were

not

not only planted, but alſo defended againſt the ſavages and other enemies, in long and cruel wars, which continued for an hundred years, almoſt without intermiſſion, ſolely at their own charge: and in the year 1746, when the Duke d'Anville came out from France, with the moſt formidable French fleet that ever was in the American ſeas, enraged at theſe colonies for the loſs of Louiſbourg the year before, and with orders to make an attack on them; even in this greateſt exigence, theſe colonies were left to the protection of heaven, and their own efforts. Theſe colonies having thus planted and defended themſelves, and removed all enemies from their borders, were in hopes to enjoy peace, and recruit their ſtate, much exhauſted by theſe long ſtruggles; but they were ſoon called upon to raiſe men, and ſend them out to the defence of other colonies, and to make conqueſts for the crown; they dutifully obeyed the requiſition, and with

ardour entered into thoſe ſervices, and continued in them until all encroachments were removed, and all Canada, and even the Havannah conquered. They moſt chearfully complied with every call of the crown; they rejoiced, yea even exulted in the proſperity of the Britiſh empire. But theſe colonies whoſe bounds were fixed, and whoſe borders were before cleared from enemies, by their own fortitude, and at their own expence, reaped no ſort of advantage by theſe conqueſts; they are not enlarged, have not gained a ſingle acre of land, have no part in the Indian or interior trade; the immenſe tracts of land ſubdued, and no leſs immenſe and profitable commerce acquired, all belong to Great-Britain; and not the leaſt ſhare or portion to theſe colonies, though thouſands of their members have loſt their lives, and millions of their money have been expended in the purchaſe of them; for great part of which we are yet in debt, and

from which we ſhall not in many years be able to extricate ourſelves. Hard will be the fate, cruel the deſtiny of theſe unhappy colonies, if the reward they are to receive for all this is the loſs of their freedom; better for them Canada ſtill remained French, yea far more eligible that it ever ſhould remain ſo, than that the price of its reduction ſhould be their ſlavery.

If the colonies are not taxed by parliament, are they therefore exempted from bearing their proper ſhares in the neceſſary burdens of government? This by no means follows. Do they not ſupport a regular internal government in each colony, as expenſive to the people here, as the internal government of Britain is to the people there? Have not the colonies here, at all times when called upon by the crown to raiſe money for the public ſervice, done it as chearfully as the parliament have done on the like occaſions? Is not this the

moſt eaſy way of raiſing money in the colonies? What occaſion then to diſtruſt the colonies, what neceſſity to fall on the preſent method to compel them to do what they have ever done freely? Are not the people in the colonies as loyal and dutiful ſubjects as any age or nation ever produced,—and are they not as uſeful to the kingdom in this remote quarter of the world, as their fellow-ſubjects are in Britain? The parliament, it is confeſſed, have power to regulate the trade of the whole empire; and hath it not full power, by this means, to draw all the money and wealth of the colonies into the mother country, at pleaſure? What motive, after all this can remain, to induce the parliament to abridge the privileges, and leſſen the rights of the moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects; ſubjects juſtly intitled to ample freedom, who have long enjoyed, and not abuſed or forfeited their liberties, who have uſed them to their own advantage, in dutiful

tiful ſubſerviency to the orders and the intereſts of Great-Britain? Why ſhould the gentle current of tranquility, that has ſo long run with peace through all the Britiſh ſtates, and flowed with joy and with happineſs in all her countries, be at laſt obſtructed, and turned out of its true courſe, into unuſual and winding channels, by which many of theſe colonies muſt be ruined; but none of them can poſſibly be made more rich or more happy.

Before we conclude, it may be neceſſary to take notice of the vaſt difference there is between the raiſing money in a country by duties, taxes, or otherwiſe, and employing and laying out the money again in the ſame country; and raiſing the like ſums of money, by the like means, and ſending it away quite out of the country where it is raiſed. Where the former of theſe is the caſe, although the ſums raiſed may be very great, yet that country may ſupport itſelf under them;

them; for as faſt as the money is collected together, it is again ſcattered abroad, to be uſed in commerce and every kind of buſineſs, and money is not made ſcarcer by this means, but rather the contrary, as this continual circulation muſt have a tendency, in ſome degree, to prevent its being hoarded. But where the latter method is purſued, the effect will be extremely different; for here, as faſt as the money can be collected, it is immediately ſent out of the country, never to return but by a tedious round of commerce, which at beſt muſt take up much time: here all trade, and every kind of buſineſs depending upon it will grow dull, and muſt languiſh more and more, until it comes to a final ſtop at laſt. If the money raiſed in Great-Britain in the three laſt years of the late war, and which exceeded forty millions ſterling, had been ſent out of the kingdom, would not this have nearly ruined the trade of the nation in three years only?

Think

Think then what muſt be the condition of theſe miſerable colonies, when all the money propoſed to be raiſed in them, by high duties on the importation of divers kinds of goods, by the poſt-office, by ſtamp-duties. and other taxes, is ſent quite away, as faſt as it can be collected: and this is to be repeated continually! Is it poſſible for colonies under theſe circumſtances to ſupport themſelves, to have any money, any trade, or other buſineſs carried on in them? Certainly it is not; nor is there at preſent, or ever was, any country under heaven, that did, or poſſibly could ſupport itſelf under ſuch burdens.

We finally beg leave to aſſert that the firſt planters of theſe colonies were pious Chriſtians, were faithful ſubjects: who, with a fortitude and perſeverance little known, and leſs conſidered, ſettled theſe wild countries, by God's goodneſs and their own amazing labours; thereby added

a moſt valuable dependance to the crown of Great-Britain, were ever dutifully ſubſervient to her intereſts; they ſo taught their children, that not one has been diſaffected to this day, but all have honeſtly obeyed every royal command, and chearfully ſubmitted to every conſtitutional law; they have as little inclination as they have ability to throw off their dependancy: they have moſt carefully avoided every meaſure that might be offenſive, and all ſuch manufactures as were interdicted. Beſides all this, they have riſked their lives when they have been ordered, and furniſhed their money whenever it has been called for; have never been either troubleſome or expenſive to the mother country; have kept all due order, and have ſupported a regular government; they have maintained peace, and practiſed Chriſtianity. And in all

con-

ditions, upon all occaſions, and in every relation, they have always demeaned themſelves as loyal, as dutiful ſubjects ought to do: and no kingdom, or ſtate, or empire, hath, or ever had colonies more quiet, or more obedient, more ſerviceable, more profitable than theſe have ever been.

May the ſame Divine Goodneſs, that guided the firſt Planters, that protected the ſettlements, and inſpired Kings to be gracious, Parliaments to be tender; ever preſerve, ever protect and ſupport our preſent Moſt Gracious King; give great wiſdom to his miniſtrrs, and much underſtanding to his parliament; perpetuate the ſovereignty of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the filial dependancy of all the colonies.

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